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ABSTRACT

This study sought to discover if individual differences in sex, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), age, and education affected teachers' attitudes toward their careers in teaching. The subjects were 489 certified, classroom teachers from six elementary, three middle, and three high schools. The schools represented rural, suburban, and urban districts in Southern California. Data were collected on demographic variables, individual, job and career factors, and two measures of satisfaction. Women outnumbered men in the sample, the average age was 38 years, and the average length of teaching experience was 12 years. Most of the teachers were from white, middle class backgrounds, and more than half had advanced degrees. The number of elementary and high school teachers was slightly higher than those who taught middle grades. Findings indicated that the majority of all teachers, in all subgroups, were satisfied with every job factor except student motivation and regarded teaching as a satisfactory job when judged on a daily basis. However, more than half of the teachers were dissatisfied with teaching as a career, stressing the importance of status, pay, and power. More women, whites, and teachers in the middle and upper SES were satisfied. It is suggested that these career aspects of teaching discourage highly qualified college graduates from entering or staying in the profession. Survey data are presented in tables, and references are included. (JD)

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Individual Differences and Satisfaction with Teaching

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Contradictory findings have been reported on teachers' satisfaction. Teaching has been described as a rewarding life of noble self sacrifice (Lortie, 1975), but recent reports paint a depressing picture of dedicated individuals who try to do an impossible job and who are widely dissatisfied with their work (Darling-Hammond, 1984; Duke, 1984; Shulman & Sykes, 1983). These contradictions can be explained by examining teachers' attitudes toward dedication and the value they attach to career rewards.

This paper is a part of a larger study which concentrated on job and career factors, and it focuses on individual differences in gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age and education. The goal was to discover if these differences cause some teachers to view their work differently than others.

Gender, ethnicity and social class determine how much wealth, power or status individuals experience in the workplace, and positions in these subgroups affect teachers' satisfaction with the work they do. Women, minorities, and poor people bring a history of oppression to their perspectives, and their struggles have brought social change (Grant & Sleeter, 1986). Teaching has been described as an attractive occupation for these people who have not had a full range of career alternatives in the past.

Teachers are a highly educated segment of the working force, and education raises expectations and increases career aspirations. Higher educational levels tend to decrease the likelihood of satisfaction, and contemporary professionals have unrealistic ideas of their importance which produce disillusionment and dissatisfaction

(Bisconti & Solmon, 1977; Germann & Arnold, 1980; Sarason, 1977).

The current workforce of teachers is composed of a majority of teachers in their thirties and forties with ten to fifteen years of experience. They can be expected to view satisfaction in different ways than new teachers (Kerchner, 1984), and studies report that these experienced teachers are the least satisfied (Farber, 1984; Moracco, D'Arienzo & Danford, 1984).

Theoretical Framework

While there is no totally unifying theory of work satisfaction, several major theories are complementary and interrelated. Most researchers base their studies on psychological theories of needs and values. Individual differences determine what needs teachers bring to their jobs and what value they place on various work dimensions (Chapman, 1983; Locke, 1976; Maslow, 1954; Porter, 1961; Sergiovanni, 1969).

People with strong needs for self actualization seek meaning through their work. This is a sense of purpose and a feeling that what one does is worthwhile and important to self and others (McKean & Taylor, 1983; Sarason, 1977). Teachers, in particular, view their work as meaningful, and they value being of service.

Job facet theory (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman, 1959; Hackman & Lawler, 1971) and organizational theory (March & Simon, 1958) point out the importance of the workplace and the actual tasks performed, the type of bureaucracy involved and the quality of interpersonal relationships. Job factors determine whether or not workers will find opportunities to meet their needs or experience satisfaction from

value attainment.

Equity (Festinger, 1957) and expectancy theories (Porter & Lawler, 1968) explain the importance of career issues. Workers compare their rewards with what others receive and with those rewards offered by other organizations. Individual differences determine what group one uses as a comparison and what actually constitutes a reward. Teachers, as a group, often compare themselves to other professionals and are consequently dissatisfied.

Teachers' high levels of education are imbalanced by their low status as workers. Today's highly able and well qualified graduates want "more out of life" (Klein & Maher, 1966; Phillips, 1982; Sarason, 1977). They want to be in positions of authority and influence which are highly paid and strongly respected. These individuals will not even consider an occupation which does not offer advancement opportunities (Weinshank, Trumbell & Daly, 1983), and they look for pay, power and prestige from their careers. Since, teachers are a highly educated segment of the population, they cannot be immune to these influences.

Self actualization is particularly important to college graduates because they identify themselves through the work they do. For example, when people ask, "Who are you?" the response is nearly always in terms of work roles or what they do for a living.

However, teachers in general, and women in particular, have found careers to be less salient than others in the past (Kuhlen (1963). Occupation has been viewed as a secondary role for women and not their primary source of need gratification, so women have been more easily satisfied than men because they did not place great value

on having a career. This situation is rapidly changing, and careers are currently more important to women than they were in the past. Teaching is no longer one of the few acceptable options for women, and radical changes in women's career aspirations have made teaching a poor choice. Liberated women view teaching as a step backwards, (Lightfoot, 1983) and Working Woman magazine (Konrad, 1986) reports that teaching heads the list of the ten worst jobs for women.

In the past teaching was an attractive occupation for people who had few other options. Since minorities and poor people have had limited occupational opportunities, teaching has been viewed as an avenue of "upward mobility". Studies have seldom separated the effects of ethnicity and class, but perceptions of equity are influenced by these two distinct factors. People who have to work harder to attain career goals expect to find substantial rewards for their efforts. People who have suffered a lack of status or faced financial hardships may consequently strive for prestige through their work or place more value on monetary compensation as a result. Low salaries and decreasing public regard have diminished the status of teachers and decreased the attractiveness of teaching as a career (Duke, 1984; Kerr, 1983; Sergiovanni, 1969).

Another important factor in determining satisfaction is age. Older workers report more work satisfaction in most studies (Gibson & Klein, 1970; Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman, 1959; Hulin & Smith, 1964), but age is closely related to experience, and teachers reveal that length of service brings dissatisfaction since their work is the same at retirement as when they first started (Weinshank, Trumbull & Daly, 1983). Most teachers in the current workforce are at the age

(thirties and forties) when they must justify their career choice. At this point many teachers decide to change careers, and those who are no longer content with intrinsic rewards alone frequently leave the profession (Chapman, 1983).

Individual differences in education, gender, ethnicity, SES and age affect the way teachers perceive their work, but they are complicated by their "dedication". Studies have found that teachers speak of their work as being a "calling" or a mission, and that they attach little importance to advancement or extrinsic rewards. Teachers who emphasize internal rewards measure their satisfaction in terms of moments or instances of involvement with students (Lortie, 1975; Jackson, 1968).

This viewpoint is changing, and the majority of teachers has recently begun to consider teaching as a career (Kerchner, 1984). Despite the traditional stereotypes of dedication and self sacrifice, teachers have started to describe their work in career terms, and steps to professionalize teaching have focused on career issues. For those who judge satisfaction by today's standards, the internal rewards of dedicated service are not enough. Changes in cultural values have made more career alternatives available to these teachers and have made material benefits more attractive than an ideal of service.

The incompatibility between what today's teachers want from their work lives and what teaching offers is exemplified in the differences between a job and a career. This paper presents the results of a study which investigated teachers' satisfaction with teaching from these two perspectives.

A job and a career are closely related but different constructs. First, a job is the present employment in a particular occupation. It includes specific work activities and is evaluated on a daily basis. Second, a career is a progression of jobs where a person advances through stages. The concept of career is more encompassing, and career satisfaction is judged from a long term perspective.

When satisfaction is measured on this basis, we find that most teachers like their jobs. They enjoy interpersonal interactions and feel that they are doing something worthwhile. It is only when teaching is viewed as a lifelong career that dissatisfaction results (Moore, 1986).

Methodology

This study examines individual differences in relation to daily and long term satisfaction with teaching through the use of surveys and follow up interviews. The subjects were 489 certificated, classroom teachers from six elementary, three middle and three high schools. The schools represent rural, suburban and urban districts in Southern California. Surveys were distributed to 650 teachers in their regular faculty meetings, and 75% were returned in useable condition. Ten percent (50) of the respondents were also interviewed.

The research instrument was designed to collect data on demographic variables, individual, job and career factors, and two measures of satisfaction. Teachers were asked to respond to "Overall, I am satisfied with teaching as a daily job." and "Overall, I am satisfied with teaching as a lifelong career."

All responses to each statement on the survey were coded as

follows:

4 indicates Strongly Agree
3 indicates Agree
2 indicates Disagree
1 indicates Strongly Disagree

The responses were analyzed utilizing the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences X (SPSSX) on the VAX computer system. This produced frequency distributions, measures of central tendency and measures of variabilty. Crosstabulations, analysis of variance and multiple regression techniques were used to futher interpret the data. Information from the interviews was used to validate the measures.

Results

A description of the sample is found in Table 1. Women outnumbered men, ages ranged from 22 to 66 with an average of 38, and years of teaching experience ranged from one to 33 with 12 years being the average. Most of these teachers are from white, middle class backgrounds. Over half of these teachers have advanced degrees and come from households where one other person contributes to the income.

The number of elementary and high school teachers was slightly higher than those who taught middle grades, and a wide range of subjects is taught. The size of the schools corresponds with the grade levels, but the location is dominated by suburban schools.

Table 1

Frequencies and Percentages of Demographic Variables

	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Variable								
Gender	204	42	285	58				
	(Male)		(Female)					
Age	123	26	167	35	121	25	65	14
	(Twenties)		(Thirties)		(Forties)		(50 and over)	
Exper.	78	16	146	30	191	39	71	15
	(3 or less)		(4-10)		(11-20)		(over 20)	
Educ.	212	43	260	53	10	2		
	(BA or BS)		(MA or MS)		(PhD)			
Ethnic.	328	67	46	9	64	13	27	6
	(White)		(Black)		(Hispanic)		(Oriental)	
SES	73	15	269	55	123	25		
	(Upper)		(Middle)		(Lower)			
House Support	136	28	276	56	50	10	26	5
	(No others)		(1 other)		(2 others)		(more than 2 others)	
Salary	108	22	101	21	141	29	134	27
	(under $20,000)		($20,000-$24,999)		($25,000-$30,000)		(over $30,000)	
Grade	173	35	114	23	198	41		
	(K-5)		(6-8)		(9-12)			
Subjects	66	14	51	11	70	15	61	13
	(English)		(Social Sci.)		(Math)		(Science)	
	53	11	33	7	27	6	104	22
	(Fine Arts)		(Vocational)		(P.E.)		(Combination)	
Location	257	53	49	10	183	37		
	(Suburban)		(Rural)		(Urban)			
Size	174	36	116	24	199	41		
	(Small-less than 50)		(Medium-50-100)		(Large-more than 100)			

Table 2 describes all the variables (except demographics which are in Table 1) measured by the surveys. Teachers expressed positive reactions to questions about career attitudes in all categories except aspirations and satisfaction with career choice. More than half of the teachers did not think that their career aspirations could be met through teaching, and the majority was dissatisfied with the choice of teaching.

Comments from the interviews showed different interpretations of some statements:

"I am dedicated to the students but not to the profession."

"I love teaching, but I'm going into real estate with my wife. She never even went to college and makes twice the money I do."

"I have too much invested in teaching to change now, and I'm too old to start a new career, but I'd like to."

"I love teaching, but I don't like to tell people what I do for a living."

A close look at the job factors reveals that the majority of teachers is satisfied with every aspect of their daily work except student motivation. Satisfaction with other teachers is high, satisfaction with administration is above average, and more than half of the teachers are satisfied with student behavior and achievement. The majority of teachers is satisfied with all working conditions and tasks.

Interview comments included:

"Some mornings I don't want to come to work, but I do because I want to see my friends."

"I am very defensive about my control in the classroom because it is the only place I have control. The principal ignores me, and the district ignores him."

"I work in pleasant surroundings because I've made my classroom look nice out of my own money."

"It's not the act of teaching that is challenging. Actually that gets pretty boring. But cajoling the secretary so I can use the Xerox, bringing cookies to the janitor so I can get supplies and especially dealing with students' personal problems are real challenges."

"Vacations may not be the best part of teaching, but it's the only thing that keeps me from quitting."

Most teachers are dissatisfied with every career factor. Only 14% are satisfied with their status as teachers, and the majority is unhappy with the respect they receive and their advancement opportunities. Most teachers do not find their salaries to be adequate, nor do they consider themselves to be powerful. Additionally, the majority favors changes in the career structure of teaching. Career ladders, peer review and merit pay are favored by most teachers.

Teachers' remarks in the interviews revealed a close connection between status, pay and power:

"The status of teachers will never improve until the pay improves."

"We may have a powerful influence on the kids, but the parents have more influence on the principal."

"While they're in there deciding curriculum issues, I'm out here patrolling bathrooms."

"I'll tell you the kind of career ladder I want. First, you get off bus duty, then at the next stage you get your own phone, then when you get to the top, somebody listens to you."

Initial findings revealed that over 76% of the teachers were happy with their jobs, but only 43% were satisfied with teaching as a career.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Individual, Job and Career Factors

Variable	Agree N	Agree %	Disagree N	Disagree %	M	SD
INDIVIDUAL FACTORS						
Teaching is a valuable service to society.	468	95.7	21	4.3	3.65	.59
Teaching adds a sense of meaningful purpose to my life.	383	78.3	105	21.5	3.00	.85
Having a career is very important to me.	382	78.1	107	21.9	2.89	.76
Teaching is pretty much what I expected it to be.	334	68.5	153	31.4	2.82	.83
I am dedicated to teaching.	317	64.8	172	35.2	2.78	.93
I entered teaching for altruistic reasons.	266	54.4	223	45.6	2.54	.95
I plan to stay in teaching until I retire.	261	53.3	228	46.6	2.51	.86
My career aspirations can be met through teaching.	215	44.7	266	55.3	2.36	.97
If I had it to do over again, I would still choose to become a teacher.	132	27.1	355	72.9	2.02	.80
JOB FACTORS						
I have a great deal of control over how I do my work in the classroom.	442	90.4	47	9.6	3.34	.70
I work in pleasant surroundings.	412	84.3	77	15.7	3.11	.78
The teachers at my school are friendly.	404	83.1	82	16.9	3.13	.85
My work is challenging.	395	80.8	94	19.2	2.99	.81
The best part of being a teacher is vacation time.	390	79.7	99	20.2	2.98	.76
The teachers at my school are a cohesive group.	380	77.8	108	22.1	3.03	.84
Most of my students reach high levels of achievement.	358	73.2	131	26.8	2.92	.88
I experience many feelings of accomplishment from my work.	343	70.6	143	29.4	2.76	.81
The administrators at my school are very supportive.	324	66.5	163	33.5	2.77	.93
The administrators at my school provide assistance whenever I need it.	324	66.5	162	33.4	2.76	.85
I have many opportunities to work closely with other teachers.	323	66.1	166	33.9	2.76	.83

Table 2 Continued

Descriptive Statistics of Individual, Job and Career Factors

Variable	Agree N	Agree %	Disagree N	Disagree %	M	SD
JOB FACTORS Continued						
The working conditions at my school are good.	318	65.4	168	34.6	2.72	.75
The administrators at my school offer superior instructional leadership.	313	64.0	176	36.0	2.68	1.01
The hours that I work are convenient.	300	61.7	186	38.3	2.63	.89
I have a great deal of autonomy at my school.	283	58.1	204	41.9	2.50	.94
I think that my work is appreciated by most of the people involved.	274	56.4	212	43.6	2.49	.86
Most of my students are well behaved.	270	55.8	214	44.2	2.53	1.02
Most of my students are motivated to learn.	222	45.4	267	54.6	2.35	.99
CAREER FACTORS						
I am in favor of some kind of career ladder in teaching.	423	86.9	64	13.1	3.36	.80
I am in favor of peer review in teaching.	381	77.9	108	22.1	3.04	.84
I think some teachers deserve extra pay for superior performance.	296	60.6	192	39.3	2.61	.99
Teachers are powerful influences.	141	29.3	341	70.7	2.07	.78
Teachers receive respect for the work they do.	129	26.4	360	73.6	1.97	.82
The pay I receive is adequate for the work I do.	124	25.4	363	74.5	2.05	.81
My district offers opportunities for advancement.	94	19.2	394	80.7	1.91	.73
The social status of teachers is good.	70	14.3	417	85.6	1.72	.75
SATISFACTION						
Overall, I am satisfied with teaching as a daily job.	377	77.3	111	22.7	2.90	.81
Overall, I am satisfied with teaching as a long term career.	211	43.3	277	56.8	2.28	.91

Individual differences were crosstabulated with five career attitudes, four job factors, four career factors and both measures of satisfaction. Gender, ethnicity, SES and age produced interesting statistics for each of these variable, but education did not. Since all the teachers in the study were college graduates, advanced degrees did not affect the other variables.

Table 3 presents comparisons of these fifteen variables by individual differences. The first five variables measured career attitudes. On career importance, 78.9% of all males and 77.6% of all females agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "Having a career is very important to me." The subgroup with the highest percentage of positive responses is that of teachers in their forties. More teachers in the upper SES group responded favorably to statements about aspirations, plans and career choice, but the middle SES group had the highest percentage for dedication.

The next set of variables measured job factors and job satisfaction. On four of these, the upper SES group had the highest percentages. These were administrative assistance, student achievement, working conditions and job satisfaction. More teachers in their forties gave positive responses for teachers' cohesiveness.

The next five variables measured career factors and career satsfaction. Teachers in their twenties showed the most agreement with status (although only 22% of these reported satisfaction.) The Oriental subgroup was the most satisfied with power, and more of the teachers who are fifty or over gave favorable responses for advancement (only 28%). Teachers in their twenties were happier with salary (30%), and the upper SES group was the most satisfied with their careers (53%).

Table 3
Comparisons of Selected Variables by Individual Differences

Male N=201	Female N=280	Lower N=120	Middle N=265	Upper N=71	White N=322	Black N=46	Hispanic N=64	Oriental N=26

Twenties N=121 Thirties N=162 Forties N=119 Fifties N=64

(Crosstab Percentages of Teachers who Agree by Subgroups)

	Car.Imp	Aspir	Dedicat.	Plans	Choice
Male	78.9	39.3	56.9	51.5	25.3
Female	77.6	48.6	70.5	54.7	28.5
White	83.6	48.4	69.9	56.7	25.6
Black	63.1	26.1	54.4	43.5	17.3
Hispanic	62.6	35.9	46.8	46.9	34.4
Oriental	74.1	55.5	59.3	48.1	33.3
Lower	52.9	29.1	47.2	35.0	12.2
Middle	87.4	50.5	75.1	60.6	31.8
Upper	89.0	55.6	65.7	68.5	39.8
Twenties	65.9	34.9	59.4	42.3	26.5
Thirties	84.5	44.4	69.4	55.7	22.2
Forties	89.3	54.6	66.9	62.8	31.4
50 and over	69.3	50.0	58.5	52.3	33.9
	AdmAssist	TCohes	StudAch	Condit	JS
Male	70.0	75.0	71.5	58.4	75.7
Female	70.6	80.0	74.4	70.4	78.5
White	71.5	85.6	79.8	67.1	85.4
Black	56.5	54.3	45.7	60.9	56.6
Hispanic	50.0	57.8	56.3	62.5	54.7
Oriental	63.0	66.6	76.7	62.9	66.7
Lower	45.5	61.8	46.3	38.8	59.4
Middle	76.1	85.8	83.6	74.2	84.0
Upper	76.7	83.5	84.9	90.4	88.9
Twenties	57.7	63.4	56.1	63.4	62.6
Thirties	72.3	83.7	79.0	65.9	84.9
Forties	71.4	87.6	84.3	69.5	83.5
50 and over	60.0	72.3	73.9	61.5	73.8

Table 3 Continued

Comparisons of Selected Variables by Individual Differences

CAREER FACTORS

	Status	Power	Advance	Pay	CS
Male	12.3	24.8	21.2	21.2	29.9
Female	15.8	32.5	17.9	28.5	52.8
White	13.2	27.6	19.8	26.0	50.2
Black	21.7	30.4	17.4	30.4	26.0
Hispanic	13.6	28.1	20.6	28.1	23.5
Oriental	14.8	53.8	22.2	14.8	25.9
Lower	6.5	17.5	9.0	17.1	25.2
Middle	18.7	31.4	22.7	30.0	52.7
Upper	13.7	42.2	26.0	23.3	53.4
Twenties	22.0	28.1	17.9	30.3	36.1
Thirties	10.2	26.8	13.8	24.6	45.5
Forties	15.8	29.2	25.0	24.2	47.9
50 and over	10.7	38.4	27.7	21.5	41.5

Each of the individual differences was subjected to T-tests or Anovas to determine if there were significant differences between groups. Although time does not permit a detailed account of these tests, some comments can be made. There were no significant differences between men and women on job satisfaction, but more women (53%) were satisfied with their careers.

Ethnicity showed significant differences on both job and career satisfaction. Blacks and Hispanics were more dissatisfied than Whites. The majority of all groups were satisfied on a daily basis, but on career satisfaction, Hispanics were the most dissatisfied. Socioeconomic status revealed differences on job satisfaction and career satisfaction with the lower group experiencing the most dissatisfaction.

There were no significant differences based on education for either job or career satisfaction. Different age levels showed no significant differences on job satisfaction, but more teachers in their forties were satisfied with their careers than teachers who are in their twenties.

Multiple regression techniques were used to discover which variables are the most important in the explanation of variance. Table 4 presents the results of multiple regression on two equations.

Table 4
Results of Regression Equations

Regression Equation 1:
Job Satisfaction

Variables Entered Stepwise	Mean	S.D.	Beta	T	Sig	r
friendly teachers	3.13	.85	.165	3.50	.00	.48
student behavior	2.53	1.02	.120	2.81	.01	.41
career importance	2.89	.76	.185	4.16	.00	.47
accomplishment	2.76	.81	.199	4.41	.00	.38
admin. assist	2.76	.85	.206	4.47	.00	.23
student achievement	2.92	.88	.161	3.59	.00	.46
conditions	2.72	.75	.126	3.41	.00	.21
admin. support	2.77	.93	.119	2.97	.03	.39
household			.081	2.29	.02	
urban location			-.084	-2.35	.02	
respect	1.97	.817	.085	2.25	.03	.25
student motivation	2.35	.99	.089	2.12	.03	.38

Multiple R = .68 R Square = .46 F = 32.10 df = 12/455

Regression Equation 2:
Career Satisfaction

Variables Entered Stepwise	Mean	S.D.	Beta	T	Sig	r
appreciation	2.49	.88	.331	8.25	.00	.67
entered altruistic	2.54	.95	.131	3.26	.00	.50
autonomy	2.50	.94	.125	3.43	.00	.50
power	2.07	.78	.178	5.42	.00	.43
meaningful purpose	3.00	.85	.089	2.41	.02	.36
dedication	2.78	.93	.121	2.86	.00	.54
status	1.72	.75	.102	3.01	.00	.42
expectations	2.82	.83	.096	2.78	.01	.37
career importance	2.89	.76	-.082	-2.46	.01	.22
suburban location			.081	2.62	.01	
experience	12.00	7.76	.071	2.35	.02	.10

Multiple R = .78 R Square = .61 F = 63.49 df =11/456

Twelve variables combined to explain 46% of the variance in job satisfaction. Friendly teachers was the first variable to enter the equation, but the highest beta and T value was for administrative assistance. Teachers defined administative assistance as helping with instructional supplies, facility needs and scheduling requests. More than 83% of the teachers thought that teachers were friendly, and nearly 67% agreed that administrators provide needed assistance.

Over 60% of the variance in career satisfaction was explained by eleven variables. Appreciation was first to enter the equation, with the highest beta and t value. Only 56% of the teachers felt they received appreciation for their work. This was was defined as "thank yous" from students and parents and feedback from administrators that they had done something commendable. Feelings of power contributed to the second highest beta and t value. Only 29% of the teachers felt powerful.

The choice of words was very important on this issue. Teachers feel they have a great deal of power, influence and control over students, but they feel powerless outside their classrooms. They report that curriculum is predetermined, their input is seldom requested and that their opinions on many school decisions are ignored.

It is interesting to note that different variables were responsible for the explanation of variance in the two dependent variables. The only variable that appeared for both job and career satisfaction was career importance. Of those teachers who agreed that careers were important, 87% were satisfied with their jobs, and 48% were satisfied with their careers. This indicates that teachers who

place importance on careers (and 78% of them do) are more easily satisfied with job factors than career factors in teaching.

Although dedication did not enter the equation for job satisfaction, it contributed to the explanation of variance for career satisfaction. A majority (65%) of all teachers described themselves as dedicated. Of these teachers, the majority had higher job and career satisfaction, but only 50% of them thought their career aspirations could be met through teaching, and only 33% would choose teaching again.

An indication of the difference between job and career satisfaction is found in the unexplained variance. The correlation coefficient is .34, and the coefficient of determination is .12. While 12% of the variance between these two variables is shared, 88% of the variance is left unexplained. This illustrates a large difference between the constructs of job satisfaction and career satisfaction.

The teachers in this sample also saw a distinction between jobs and careers in the interviews. When they spoke about daily job satisfaction, they used the past and present tenses, but when they expressed career concerns, they talked in a future tense.

Conclusions

The teachers in this study liked their jobs. Regardless of gender, ethnicity, SES or age differences, the majority of every subgroup reported satisfaction on a daily basis.

The majority of all teachers was satisfied with every job factor except student motivation. These teachers emphasized the satisfaction they experienced inside the classrooom and their positive interpersonal relations. This indicates that teaching is a satisfying job when judged on a daily basis.

Nevertheless, more than half of the teachers were dissatisfied with teaching as a career. The majority of men, minorities, the lower SES group and all age levels expressed dissatisfaction with teaching on a long term basis. More women, Whites, and teachers in the middle and upper SES groups were satisfied. These were also the teachers who more often reported that they were dedicated. In the interviews, the teachers who emphasized their dedication placed more value on intrinsic rewards than career benefits. They felt rewarded on an emotional and intuitive level, and their satisfaction was influenced by specific instances of efficacy in dealing with students. They did not place great value on career issues.

The teachers who were highly dissatisfied stressed the importance of status, pay and power. They associated their salaries with a lack of respect for the work they do, and the idealism of providing a valuable service was often buried beneath financial reality. Their lack of status caused them to lose their sense of purpose, and their lack of power in the workplace made them feel unimportant.

This was especially true of minority teachers and those from a lower SES background. Instead of viewing teaching as "upward mobility", these people have struggled to get an education, and they have developed even higher expectations of career rewards. One teacher reported, "I see my own struggle as a black man coinciding with teachers' struggle to receive acceptance as professionals. . . I can't afford to be satisfied with internal rewards when I have to support my family, and teachers who work for the <u>love</u> of it don't help the cause. . . We have to be just as militant about gaining recognition as the civil rights and women's movement were."

The majority of teachers in this study supports efforts to professionalize the occupation, and they are increasingly demanding career benefits. For those who judge the career aspects of teaching by today's standards, the rewards of "dedication" are not enough. This explains why some teachers plan to leave teaching even though they are satisfied on a daily basis and why many feel teaching was a poor career choice. It also leads many teachers to conclude that their career aspirations cannot be met through teaching.

It is primarily the career aspects of teaching which discourage highly qualified college graduates from entering or staying in the profession. These individuals usually compare their work situations with other professionals, and they place greater value on career rewards than on dedication. Women and minorities have many more options than in the past, and they seek careers which offer pay, power and prestige. Since teaching can be highly rewarding on a daily basis, they will put up with temporary frustrations with the hope for future success, but unless teaching can offer career rewards, few of them will be attracted to teaching, and if they enter the profession, they are likely to be among those who drop out each year.

The rewards of a life of dedicated service are not enough to retain career oriented teachers, and teachers' denigration of material rewards explains why highly qualified graduates are not attracted to teaching. The problem is that teaching offers more internal rewards than career benefits. Teaching is still a job, and individual differences indicate that the type of person who is needed is looking for a career.

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